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SPEECH OF C. M. CLAY,

AT LEXINGTON, KY.

DELIVERED AUGUST 1, 1851.

CITIZENS OF FAYETTE:—I present myself before you, a candidate for the office of Governor of Kentucky.

I come, not as my rivals Messrs. DIXON and POWELL, backed by great political parties. I stand against the ruling class in the State and Nation—the wealth,—the social ban,—the press—and the pulpit.—These are great odds. Yet standing here on the basis of Truth, Justice, and Liberty, as humble in popularity and ability, as the least appreciative of my friends or enemies would have me, I do not shrink from the duties which every citizen of a republic owes to his country.

No man knows better than I the deep rooted prejudices, which have been studiously planted in the minds of this people, from the beginning against me personally, and the cause which I advocate. Of this I do not complain. He who would change the organic laws of a State, ought to be prepared to meet hatred, calumny, and violence: for such has been the fate of Patriots in all times and in all countries. I pass all personal misrepresentations, in silence: if I cannot live them down, vain is the attempt to speak them down.

Objections which have been made against the party with whom I have the honor to act, I deem worthy of notice.

It is urged that the question of slavery and emancipation has been once considered, and decided against us, by the people of Kentucky; and therefore it is “factions,” again, to reopen it.

Now this objection, if true, has but little weight, coming from Democrats, who have been defeated for twenty years or more in this State: yet now we find them arrayed once more under their banners! So does it come with equally bad grace from the Whigs; who have been in the nation, relatively about in the same position, as the Democrats have been in the State.

The objection when stripped of its casuistry, means simply that we are in a minority. Now when so many men, even of first distinction, are ready to float with the popular tide into office, I regard it as a subject of pride, that we stand firm in the advocacy of what we conceive lies at the basis of all prosperity and safety to the State.

But the allegation is untrue. The question of emancipation never has been fairly discussed before, or decided upon by, the people of this State. The forty men—who met in Frankfort in 1848, all slave-holders, but still professing to represent all parties in the State, interested

in the convention movement,—declared that so far as they were concerned, the then relations of *slavery should not be disturbed*. And again when the legislature met in the winter of that year, a resolution was passed that *slavery ought not to be discussed*.

The same position was taken by nearly the whole Whig and Democratic press. By such weight of authority against us, the emancipation convention which met in Frankfort in 1849, was induced to defer making the battle upon the merits of their cause; and only contended for what is called “the open clause” in the Constitution. So that the question of emancipation might be, as suggested by our opponents, decided separately from all other influences, upon its merits. And such was the position taken by the orators upon the stump, and urged everywhere in private conversation.

Now when the Constitution is formed, and carried into execution,—when parties are narrowed down to the same platform—so nearly, that the matter of contest between Whig and Democrat seems to be, whether there is really any difference in principles—when the public mind is calm and ready for just conclusions—and we at last come forward and urge emancipation upon just and constitutional grounds—these same men, who all along were saying the time had not yet come, now clamor that the time has passed—it is too late—the question has been decided against us!

No! with the slave-holders, the time has not, and never will come for the consideration of emancipation! If left to them, they would, like Sheridan with his creditors, put it off till the day after judgment!

We, then friends of emancipation and vital republicanism must judge for ourselves, of the time, and means of throwing off this institution, which “wrongs” the slave, and threatens our own liberty. We are all equals—we were born free—and while we allow to our opponents all the privileges which we claim for ourselves—we avow our purpose to yield to others, *none*, which we will not fearlessly demand.

I care nothing for party names, so that they designate principles.—The Whigs are called “bank federalists,”—the Democrats “locofocos.” We call ourselves “Emancipationists,” “Liberty and Union men.” Our enemies call us “Abolitionists.” All we ask is the understanding of our views upon them—we are willing to stand, or to fall!

There are in the State of Kentucky, in round numbers, ten hundred thousand people. Of these two hundred thousand are African slaves. You all know what slaves are. By the laws of all the slave States, they can neither acquire nor hold property, in their own right, “by the sweat of the face” or by gift, or devise, or inheritance. To them is denied the family relation. They know not the name of parent or child—husband or wife—sister or brother—they are not secured in “life, liberty, or property, or the pursuit of happiness.” In a word they are subject in all these, to the will of their masters, in mind and in person, being as goods and chattels, or beasts of the field!

In this 19th century amidst a civilized and christian people, I shall not discuss the *moral* relation of such an institution as this! I appeal to reason; which is monstrous jargon, if this be just! To every unsullied conscience; which is quick as a flash of light in revulsion, when self is thus threatened! To the works of nature—when by sea

and shore, each mute and living thing, of minutest insignificance, has allotted it by Providence, an independent sphere of action and happiness,—that not alone of all animated existences, is the poor African merged in the will and happiness of others!

Above all, upon that ever to be held sacred and glorious saying, “Do unto others as you would have others do unto you,” I rest the question of the moral relation of slavery. To reason, to conscience, to nature, to God, I will not add the poor weight of my ideas of the right. I am not here as a moralist, but a politician; or if I may aspire to the higher title, a statesman; and as a statesman, I have discussed, and still propose to discuss this subject.

Next in order are the owners of these two hundred thousand slaves. In 1845, they were from the Auditor’s books ascertained to be about thirty one thousand: say, since then increased to thirty three and a third thousand. The actual owners of slaves then in this State are only one in every twenty four, including men, women and children of the white race. But allow, which is liberal, two persons more to each actual slave-holder, for those interested in these slaves, as heirs, or expectants by gift or devise, and we have only one hundred thousand persons! Take the two hundred thousand slaves and the one hundred thousand masters from the ten hundred thousand, and you have remaining seven hundred thousand persons—seven out of eight of every man, woman and child of the white races in this Commonwealth,—“the people,” in the language of politicians,—who have no interest in the ownership of these slaves.

On the contrary, their every interest, social, moral, intellectual and physical, are warred upon by the existence of slavery among them.—And if I shall succeed in proving that fact—then, where is the republican who is not compelled to go with me in the overthrow of slavery?—For the theory of our institutions is, that the government is formed for the benefit—to promote the happiness, prosperity and safety, of the great majority of the governed—and that when it fails of these aims, then it’s not only the right, but the highest duty of the people to relay the foundations of the same, for the accomplishment of these great ends.

There is no middle ground—no escape. If I am right, even the slave-holders are bound to go with me for emancipation, or to stand, in repudiation of the avowals of our fathers, and all republicanism, in favor of the Divine right of Kings—of Despotism! I lay down the broad proposition that labor is the subject of first consideration in the formation of the constitution and laws of a State. Labor is that which distinguishes man from all other animals. The beasts have reason and speech in an inferior degree, but man only is a laborer. And whilst other animals come into life, in early infancy protected, housed, and fed, by an all bountiful Deity, man only for long years, is utterly dependent for food, shelter, and clothing, upon the labor of those who precede him. And so far from regarding labor as a curse, I see in it above all things the favoritism of God. Animals are clothed with but a single vestment; their residences or retreats are fixed: their food is eternally the same. But there is no limit to the variety, in comfort, and taste, of the human dress. Our dwellings rise from the cabin to the palace, in structure and ornaments; whilst our food, in variety and del-

icacy, is only bounded by the wide reach of the human mind, in its hold upon science, and the development of the resources of the soil.

Labor then is an eternal and beneficent law of our being. Upon it's honor, depends its efficiency; and upon both, depends the numbers, the prosperity, and happiness, of civilized society. When then you plant slavery in a State, you do that thing which tends most powerful in constitutional law, to dishonor labor, and render it inefficient. Before a man will serve another, with no inducement but the fear of punishment, the spirit of self respect must be utterly extinguished—he must be degraded below the beasts. And the slave has ever been regarded as the basest of men; and the object not only of contempt, but hatred; because in yielding up his own liberty, he subtracts so much strength from the mass of men, and to that extent endangers the liberty of all others! And by a necessary association of ideas, whatever the slave touches, has imparted to it something of his own dishonor! I appeal to the experience of men—to those who have been in the free and in the slave States. Here all those offices which slaves, in greatest number, and most habitually, perform, are avoided, as far as possible by the mass of whites, who are compelled to labor. And in kind if not in degree, at whatever remove from the slaves' labor is still looked upon with disgust; and idleness is regarded as a badge of social elevation.

John Quincy Adams said he regarded the profession of the law no more honorable than the business of shoe-making. In the eye of reason, the shoe-blacker is as honorable as the shoe-maker; and if Adams be right, as honorable as the lawyer. It is slavery, and slavery only in its myriad forms, which degrades the laborer!

When I edited the *True American* in this city, I found the wives and daughters, of the small shop keepers, mechanics and others, who had no slaves, up before the rising sun—sweeping out their entries—the steps—and pavements—and bringing water from the pumps, before the tide of slaves was yet poured into the streets to wound their sentiments of social equality. Master workmen tell me that the best journeymen leave the State as soon as they are married! In the free States on the contrary the wife, and daughter, and lover go up-headed to the discharge of domestic duties—made more lovely in the eyes of all, by the conscious glow of duty performed. The slave-holders and rich avoid labor entirely. They are idlers by profession, and drones upon society; whilst at a distance, all classes imitate them. Idleness is the mother of ruin to the state, and destitution to individuals. There are no promises in the book of nature or Revelation for the idler. Its career is deformity in person, stupidity in intellect, depravity in morals. Its end is poverty and death! Not less than twenty persons of all ages, sexes and colors have come to violent ends in this State, in three months in a population of one million! Such a terrible result is the best commentary upon slavery and its vitiating effects!

In the North, every grade in wealth, from the highest to the lowest, have suitable employment for their children. In manufactures, in agriculture, and commerce, as well as in the learned profession, there is room for all: and only the man of business is honored.

Here the evil of dishonored labor is not confined to us the non-slaveholding class, but reaches masters also. The son and daughter can-

not by them be put to work along side of the degraded slave; who is of course an unfit associate. The professions are full to starvation.—The consequence is, sons and daughters are brought up in idleness and effeminacy; mind, body, and estate, go to wreck! Thus slavery like the fabled shirt of Nessus, which was expected to bring pleasure and comfort in the use, but maddens its unhappy possessor at last.

Unfortunately for the laborers, the evils of slavery are not confined to mere sentiments or association of ideas, but they come home to every one, whether in the field or in the work-shop, and ruin him by the competition of unpaid wages! This is proved by the retardation or expulsion of the whites in all slave-states. By the census of the United States, the whole population doubles in about every twenty-five years. Take the previous censuses of the people of Kentucky and you will find that we ought in 1851 to have had two millions, instead of eight hundred thousand whites. Our sister State of Ohio, of about the same area of land—with longer winters—less fertile soil, and mineral wealth,—although our junior by many years—has her two millions of people. Slavery then has expelled one million people from the State!

I do not now consider the amount of human suffering, which this curse has caused! For if happiness depends mostly, not upon absolute, but relative, wealth—and the man is happiest, who is steadily improving his condition—who can estimate the misery of the million of people, continually decreasing in means, till at last, they see their homes pass into the hands of strangers, and themselves driven into exile—a punishment in all governments deemed sufficient for the greatest of crimes! I choose to regard it merely as a matter of dollars and cents—and as labor is the admitted source of all wealth, we have lost one half of our productive power—one million of laborers have gone, one remains. If we regard man as a productive machine simply, the white valued no higher than the slave, at an average of three hundred dollars,—we have lost a possibly productive power or capital of three hundred million of dollars! This is not all, we have placed two hundred thousand African slaves in the place of the same number of white freemen. Now our fathers of the south when the Federal Constitution was formed contended, no doubt truly, that the slave was only half as productive as the white, and that therefore in taxation, two slaves ought to be counted as but one white.

This is good authority at least against our opponents. In the substitution of slaves for freemen, then, we have placed one hundred thousand paupers in the State; for whilst as machines they are fed, clothed and sheltered, at the same cost as whites, only producing half as much—it is as if one hundred thousand, were supported out of the aggregate wealth, from the bone and sinew, and the sweat of the face, of the great mass of laborers, black and white! And every two slaves imported into the State, (for the slave holders subject us to that also) and every two born, impose an additional pauper upon us! Again, these emigrants have taken out more or less of the money of the country,—say three hundred dollars each,—and we have lost three hundred millions more of the actual accumulated capital of the country—as much as all the balance of the wealth real and personal, as shown by the census!

But the same causes which retard population, hinder education. In the free States, sixteen times, have common school funds been provided by general taxation; so as to bring education into the home of the poorest citizens. And as a consequence, not one man, woman or child, (if you exclude immigrants from the slave States and foreign countries,) in a thousand, can be found unable to read their laws and bible. But in all the slave States, the system of common schools have failed, from the beginning. Governor Hammond in his message to the South Carolina legislature, says that "education and slavery are incompatible," and therefore as he was for slavery, he opposed education among the people! It seems the people of Kentucky have been ruled by the same sort of slave-holders. Three times has a common school fund been provided by the people, and three times have our masters concluded that "education and slavery were incompatible," and diverted the funds to their own purposes. First, you set aside the proceeds of the sales of the lands west of the Tennessee river for schools; but they were appropriated by the slave-holders to other purposes. Again, you gave the dividends of the State in the Commonwealth's Bank to schools; but again, they were diverted to other purposes. Once more, and the third time, you solemnly set aside eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, one half of the sum received from the proceeds of the public lands of the United States, to assist in the education of the people; but once more and for the third time, the defenders of the "peculiar institution" sunk the whole sum in physical improvements. And whilst New York expends three hundred thousand dollars yearly in the education of her sons and daughters, the great State of Kentucky has not a cent in the treasury for the same glorious purpose. Our masters not only wasted the money, but they burned the bonds, the evidences of the debt, in the streets of the capitol, as if they were cast off cholera clothes, bringing disease and death upon the people! And now when the friends of education and liberty, have aroused the public to these infamies, and caused the legislators to restore the bonds—and when the Democratic Convention, to their eternal honor have put it in the Constitution that the sinking fund shall be held sacred for their payment,—we find a contest going on between the friends of education, and a slave-holding governor, whether these beneficent ends shall be accomplished or not!

In the free States the children of the rich and the poor, are educated in the same school; and the division of farms and the density of the population insure always a sufficient number of scholars, to bring down the cost of education to the most economical rate. But here we not only lack a common school fund to lighten individual expense, but the co-operation and joint means of the rich, and the laborers.

We are not only frequently prevented from making a school at all, on account of the large farms and slave-holders, but when the slave-holders send their children to county academies, or distant cities, as they do, in nine cases of ten, the expense is increased to those who remain. And the grand result is, that, whilst in the free States nearly the whole mass of native born citizens are educated, here, in all the slave States, the cost of education is about three times as great as in the free States; and in all the slave States of the Union, more than one half of all the laborers white and black, are unable to read and write!

Here the educated are drones in society, consuming without producing; whilst the great mass of laborers are deprived of the aids of letters and science in production. Of course we fail in manufactures; and without manufactures, commerce also fails. Thus whilst the south takes hold of three and one half millions of slaves, as producers only equal to one and three quarter millions of men—the north far wiser lays hold on the winds, the waters, and chemistry, and magnetism, and the powers of science, and enslaves them. I estimate the power of machinery in the free States to be equal to the labor of forty millions of men.* The free States then have “the long end of the handspike,” and hold us in lasting dependence, as simple agriculturists,—a third rate stage of civilization. We stand as the tribes of Asia, three thousand years ago; and many of our most sensible farmers return to grazing, as the best way of preserving lands from the ruin of slave cultivation!

These disadvantages of slavery are common to the whole people.—What we the non-slave holders lose, is not gained by the masters. For by directing the whole power of the State to agriculture, they tend to glut all those markets, where our mules, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, hemp, and tobacco, go. So that the tendency of prices is always towards the lowest profit above the cost of production; and frequently the sales are under the cost, and the gains of many years lost in one unfortunate market.

These arguments are addressed alike to all—but I stand here as the advocate of the non-slave holders of the country; and them I would reach in a manner more practical and of less generalization.

I propose to show to them, how it is, that this million of citizens have been expelled from the soil by inevitable and inexorable laws. In the free States, a man upon fifty, eighty, and one hundred acres, (which last perhaps is the average of all the farms in all the free States,) can raise, educate, and settle in life, a large family! Why? Because he has his manufacturer and merchant set down along side of him. He sells every thing: nothing is lost: “many mickles make a muckil” says the Scottish maxim. But here in the slave States, in consequence of all our markets being distant markets, Charleston, New Orleans, Cincinnati, or New York, and through them the great world, we lose all the “odds and ends,” which are saved in the free States. But the main loss is in the main articles of production, and return consumption. For instance, the citizen of Fayette sends a pound of beef to the city of New York; there it is sold for six cents; but three cents comes off for cost of transportation—the nett proceeds are therefore three cents a pound. But the farmer living along side of New York, sells also for six cents; but that is the nett profit; as he has no outlay in going to market. He sells therefore for twice as much as we. Of course if he can live upon one hundred, we must have two hundred acres. Again, the articles which he gets in exchange cost him near one hundred per cent less than us; or one half of our income is lost in consequence of

* This is the estimate made about ten years ago of the power of machinery in England. If we take into consideration the machinery or instruments applied to agriculture the estimate must be below the reality!

the distance of our articles of consumption. If then the free farmer can live upon one hundred acres, we must have four hundred! Any one can well see then, that, if we must have four times as much land to live here, as there, we must of necessity emigrate. But a home market can afford manures: and high price, and personal supervision, encourage "high farming," and the lands are continually improving.—Freedom gives education, education gives science in cultivation, and increased product—more leisure—more science,—and more population. But in the slave State the "shinning system" prevails—large farms are necessary in consequence of distance of markets—large farms cannot undergo the manuring system; the virgin soil of centuries exhausted in deposit, are worn out in slovenly, ignorant cultivation. In Virginia and Maryland, and North Carolina, were good plains, and fertile slopes, but slaves have turned them into barrenness. The whites emigrated—drove out the wild beasts and Indians—cleared the forest; but once more the tide of slaves follows on; the result is the same.—Barrenness follows in the wake of the slave. The broom sedge, the mullen, and the briar, pursue ever in their footsteps! Are not those, who have desolated Judea and Asia Minor, and turned her cities and fertile vales into the abodes of wild beasts—where "the fox looks out at the window, and the long grass grows upon the walls!"—as criminal in the eyes of Nature's God, as they who stoned the prophets, and rejected him, who taught justice, mercy, and love!

In the midst of these depressing causes, the laborer finds yet greater oppression: the direct competition of capital. In the free States, when the capitalist has one or two hundred acres he wants no more land. He says to his neighbor, who is educated in the common school, industrious, and moral, I have a thousand, or five thousand dollars, take it and invest it in manufactures or commerce; divide a portion of the profits with yourself, for your personal supervision, and the other portion with me for my capital. Thus capital and labor are friends, and build up each other. And the whole mass of society is moving up to independence and wealth. But here the slave-holding capitalist is the worst enemy of the laborer. He cannot invest his money in machinery, or commerce;: he gives no employment to white labor.—He comes then into the land market, where only the whites can hope to live, and he invests his money at no matter what price. The consequence is that land has not only a real value, and price, but a fictitious or fancy value. The estimate of the most intelligent is that the lands in the slave States do not any thing like average three per cent on their cost. If the laborer then bids for the land on credit, he gives six per cent upon the investment; of course it is a losing business; and at last he is compelled to sell out; and the land falls into the hands of the capitalist! Thus we find in almost every county, one, two, and as high as fifteen and twenty farms, once occupied by intelligent whites families, now in the possession of the master and slaves. The census of 1850 shows in many counties not only the loss of the whole increase, which is one hundred per cent in twenty five years, but an absolute decrease since 1840 in population!

The towns are subject to the same laws of depression as the country: and neither in the field or the workshop, is there any escape from

the ruin of slave labor competition! There are two great data, upon which the growth of cities depends the number of consumers, and their productive and consequently consumptive capacity. For they are but the aggregation, for convenience of society and exchange, of all those persons, who expect to give the product of their intellects or hands for the fruits of the soil. A hatter sells to the twenty thousand people of the county of Fayette, one hundred hats a year; under the free system, when the population shall have increased to forty thousand, he will sell two hundred hats. At the same time his real estate advances in value as the increase of population. He is a thriving mechanic—he can not only educate his children, but set them up in the same trade with himself. The father sells to the fathers of the country, and his sons to their sons—and what applies to the hatter, applies to every resident of a city; so that there is no limit to the population of the city or country, until such time as the earth shall cease to sustain the inhabitants. And by manufactories, Massachusetts, England, and some other countries, sustain a higher population than their soil by agriculture could possibly support. Now reverse the case, let slavery be introduced and immediately as I have shown, two laws begins to prevail: the whole population white and black begin to decrease, and the productive power of the black is only half that of the white. The result is that the hatter, who at first sold one hundred hats, in the course of these events, now sells but fifty; he is a decaying tradesman. Just at the time that he needs more money for the education and settlement of his children, he has less than in early life—the profits of his trade continually decline, whilst his real estate declines also—till at last he is compelled “to pull up stakes” to use a common phrase, and move to the free States, where his consumers from the country have gone before him! And this reasoning is sustained by experience. Norfolk, in Virginia, was once the emporium of Eastern Commerce, but slaves have driven out her whites; ignorance and sloth have exhausted her lands; manufactures fail; and commerce fails with them. Now Norfolk is forgotten, and New York, and Philadelphia and Boston, are great cities; and the sails of their commerce whiten every sea. The Virginia Republican, says “a little more than eighty years ago the imports of Virginia amounted to four millions; those of New York to nine hundred thousand; in eighteen hundred and forty nine, the imports of Virginia were two hundred and forty thousand, and those of New York were ninety two millions.” That is, the difference in the race, in less than a century, all the natural advantages being in favor of slavery, between a free and slave State, is about sixteen hundred times in favor of freedom! Cities in slave States with the first tide of white population grow to a certain extent of magnificence; when the slaves come in, they become stationary—then begin to decline. Chimneys topple off, and go unrepaired—underpinnings decay—houses go unpainted—shutters fall to pieces—lights are broken out, and old cloths and pasted paper are substituted—all things indicate, that the city is constitutionally diseased with slavery, and hastens to its end!

There was a time when there were intrenchments, where the mechanic was secure against the machinery of the free States and the competition of slave labor, in the handicrafts to be done on the soil. But

now slaves have intruded themselves into all these, and the competition tends continually to reduce the white mechanic to the wages of the slave—the simplest food, clothing, and shelter, without education or any of the elegancies of life! Penitentiary labor is remonstrated against in all parts of the Union, by the whites, when applied to such manufactures as are carried on in the neighborhood, as utterly destroying their livelihood. Yet slave labor to the seven hundred thousand free white laborers of Kentucky, is penitentiary labor; the master standing in the same relation to the slave, that the agent of the State does towards the convicts! The wages paid in both cases are the same: the result the same; ruin to the free laborer! The newspaper press denounce me as insulting the mechanics, in demonstrating these facts! The truth is not denied. On the contrary, the Virginia papers and the Georgia press announce that associations of mechanics in both States have issued a public protest against the education of slaves in the various trades; because it “degrades labor and reduces their wages!” Our opponents have not and cannot meet the argument; on the contrary they insult us, with the Louisville Chronicle, by the avowal that slave and free labor cannot coexist; that either the blacks or the whites must give way! The slave holders have made up their minds to our ruin and expulsion from the State! What say you freemen of Kentucky shall the black or white race inhabit this lovely land?

Those who would not as the Louisville Chronicle defy us, attempt to delude us by our prejudices, and assert that if the slaves were gone, the Dutch, the French, and the Irish, would overrun the land, and underwork and ruin us; and that they greatly prefer the African to those races!

I entertain no prejudices against these foreigners. Leaving a land of tyranny they seek a home among us, because we are republicans. I give them the right hand of fellowship. I welcome them as freemen, and equals, in a land of freedom and equality. Yes these are the men who have built up, in a great measure, these States: they bring laborers, some money, and above all the arts and sciences as applicable to the development of the elements of nature. The Dutch, the Irish, and French, have made Cincinnati what she is, equal to the old cities of the East in manufactures and commerce. But who are they who declaim against these races? They are in a few removes, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh. And if we have more versatility of talent, symmetry of form, and play and loveliness of the face divine, than other nations, it is because of this same admixture of blood.

But what does this argument, when analyzed, mean? There is no Chinese wall or bands of soldiers surrounding us, to keep out these foreigners; what is it so terrible that the starving and diseased “Dutch, and Irish, and French,” crushed by despotism, in other lands, cannot stand it? It is slavery! And what these miserable men cannot and will not bear, we the laboring native citizens of this State have to bear, and do bear!

Again we are told, we don’t want cities, nor manufactures, nor commerce. Well the slave holders, perhaps, content with their position, do not: but every sensible man, every patriot does. Cities are but the exponents or indices of the property of a country. And manufactures

and commerce are equal sources of wealth with agriculture. The truth is we fail even in that, of which we boast; for in agriculture the south fall behind the North. The South has better lands and more, better climates, and tropical productions, which are a monopoly; yet by the census of 1840, the value of all of the products of the South were three hundred and twelve millions; those of the North three hundred and forty-two millions. Thus the free States in agriculture in 1839, produced thirty millions more than the slave States! The census of 1850 will when footed up, show no doubt an increase in the products of the free States, above that of the slave States! In the whole category of physical developments then the free excel the slave States.

No, there is no compensation for the evils of slavery, none, none whatever. It depresses us in the scale of social rank, deprives us of education, machinery, manufactures, and commerce,—impoverishes us by the competition of slave labor,—drives us into the poor lands; into the brushwood and the mountains; or else exiles us from the home of our nativity! We can now understand what the slave-holders mean by slavery, “dying out of itself,”—“becoming extinct by the natural law of competition of labor!” It means that we will become more and more pressed by this institution, in the means of living, till such time in the course of human events, when population shall become dense and filled up, to the far Pacific, and there is no longer room for emigration west or to the free States, we will have to stand our ground—till when our wives and children, like poor Ireland, cry for bread, we will come to the slave-holder, and say—we have more intellect and facility of muscle than the African, we pray you give us the same wages, food, shelter, and clothing, and we will do you more work! Then the master forgetting the ties of the “patriarchial institution” will say to the slave be free, go and take care of yourself, I can do better without you! That is what is meant by slavery, “dying out of itself.” It means reducing us below the slavery of the blacks!* For one I am not ready for it, for self defence is the first law of nature!

I think I have made out my case, that slavery wars upon the interests of the non-slave holders of the State, the great majority of the people; and therefore ought to be overthrown! Still we are no abolitionists, in the technical sense of the word. And whilst I have ever, and now advocate the immediate voluntary emancipation of the slaves as right and expedient; for I avow my eternal faith that what is right is always expedient in individuals and States; still as a statesman, proposing the abolition of slavery, I have ever recognized the legal right of the master to his slave. I hold that, in a republic, where the will of the majority prevails, the law is omnipotent, and the good conscience and obedience to “the higher law” requires us only to use every honorable and constitutional means for the overthrow of an unjust and immoral statute. That resistance to law is not sufferable in

* Henry Clay in a letter to Thos. Hankey, jr, of London dated May 10th, 1851, says: “My own opinion, long and deliberately entertained, is that they (the blacks) are held in slavery for the purpose of a necessary supply of labor. SLAVERY WILL CEASE, WHENEVER BY THE INCREASE OF THE WHITE POPULATION, FREE WHITE LABOR CAN BE PROCURED, CHEAPER THAN THAT OF THE BLACKS!”

conscience, except in extreme cases; where the individual prefers to bear the penalty of resistance to the crime of obedience, or where there is hope of better times, in successful revolution against wrong. We respect the rights of slave holders therefore. And inasmuch as we have not the means of liberating the present slaves by purchase; and as it would be yet more unjust to tax the non-slave holders, who have already suffered so much from this institution, to buy the slaves, and colonize them, we must bear in the future, as we have in the past, with the two hundred thousand existing slaves. But with regard to the *un-born*, I would put in the constitution, that after the year 1860, or earlier if possible, all persons shall be free. In this right of the State to regulate the future relations of the unborn, I am sustained by the highest authority, whig and democratic, in our own State; by the example of monarchies and republics, of other lands; and by the practice of the free States of the North. But I do not choose to stand upon authority. I am willing to come to the ground of the masters, that they have the same right in the unborn of their slaves, which they have in their increase of their cattle and horses; still we do them no injustice, but place them upon the same basis with ourselves, in our property. The constitution says, no man's property shall be taken for public use without paying him an equivalent; yet if a rail road or a canal is run through the farm of the laborer, twelve men are called as a jury; and they are put upon their consciences; and if they determine that the proprietor is benefitted more by the general advantages of the road or canal, than he is injured by the specific property lost, they do not pay him a cent damages! That is the law of the land. Now I summon the great people of Kentucky as a jury, and I put them upon their consciences; and say, if we cannot make out our case, that the slave holder will be more benefitted by the emancipation of the unborn, than he would be injured by the same, then we lose our case—we ask them to vote against us. I have examined my own conscience; and I think if I know myself, I would not injure my neighbor a cent, if it would put thousands in my own pocket; and I can freely vote the law, believing that the slave holder would be infinitely bettered by the change. Here then is a plan of emancipation, that is constitutional and legal, just, and in accordance with the laws of nature, and Republicanism, right reason, and an enlightened conscience. Let us suppose then such a law inserted, by an organized and predominant party, by a call of a convention, in the constitution of the State—that after the year 1860, all persons born here shall be free,—what would be the result? At once all would begin to conform to the new state of things. Those slave holders who prefer to hold on to the slaves, would move into Texas, and other more southern States, where slavery has a prospect of longer existence. These no doubt, would take out a majority of the existing slaves. The condition of the slave would not be worsted; and ours would be bettered.—Then there are a large portion of the slave holders who are emancipationists. I care not for what reasons they are so. Whether, like Asa, they think “what a great State Kentucky would be if she only had the money for her slaves,” or like Perkins “what a great State Kentucky would be if she only was liberated from her slaves” or whether they believed with me, that liberty is best for the black, and best for the

white—there are about one fourth of all the slave holders in the State emancipationists. They constitute a large portion of the talent, the moral, and religious worth, of that class, and own one fourth or more of the slaves. They are unwilling to make a sacrifice of, or live without, slave labor, in a slave State; but give them the general advantages of freedom, and they avow themselves ready to transfer their slaves from Kentucky soil without aid from the State, or tax upon any one. Thus another large portion of slaves would be removed. And the facilities of colonization are every day increased, by the commerce of Independent Liberia—by the proposed building, by the National Government, of three large war steamers, to ply between the United States and Africa: and above all by Great Britain's opening Jamaica to the colonization of the free blacks, where they will at once be received upon terms of equality with other British subjects; and without any necessity of an outfit, given fair wages, in the sugar and coffee cultivation.

We have then a minority of the existing slaves left upon the soil, in possession of those who choose from age or habit to hold on to that species of labor, during the life of the slaves. At their death, we should only have those born of that minority; whose numbers would be inappreciable amid the great white masses.

For this law prevails with the liberated slaves, that they do not increase as fast in a State of freedom among the whites, as in a State of slavery. And whilst in slavery they upon the same base increase faster than, and gain upon, the whites; in freedom, in turn, the whites gain upon them. So that at last, without other "plan," the unity of the white race upon Kentucky soil would be accomplished: or else but few of the black race of the best quality would remain, inappreciable in number among the masses of the whites.

The law of nature and of God says, the idler, the vicious, the intemperate, the thriftless, and his offspring, shall go to the wall. But the slave holder says no! The virtuous, and the vicious, shall fare alike; there shall with the slaves be no distinction between good and evil. We take from the good, and give to the bad; they, their children, shall live! The vicious live on, and increase, society is not purged; the diseased parts slough not off; the race of fiends increases, until such time as great convulsions of blood and terror vindicate the truth, that His arm, who has made death the penalty of sin, is not shortened! but that at last He will repay!

I avoid the imputation of ultraism. I propose, if any one shall not like my plan, to give in the constitution, the legislature full power over the whole subject. I only take the first steps, which must be taken by those who move at all from the perpetualists; the door must be passed from slavery to freedom. Indeed it would be unwise to urge a complicated plan. We would open our flanks to the assaults of our enemies; and waste that power, which should be concentrated upon the single issue of persuading the people to be willing to make the State free, upon useless differences of opinion among ourselves, about the details.—For "wherever there is a will, there is a way." And any plan, now put into the constitution, would subject us to the possible necessity of again calling a convention, and subjecting that plan to the changes of

time and events. The "waiters upon Providence," and those considerate emancipationists who want immediate office from the slave party, will be against us—but the good, the great, the free, will "never give up the ship."

I have taken a cursory view of the subject; I do not flatter myself that I have exhausted the argument, but I trust I have said enough to suggest such train of thought as will lead every disinterested mind to the conclusion that slavery is "a wrong to the slave" an evil to all, and must end.

But there is one issue of more importance than any; than all considerations together, which I have suggested. It is, whether we ourselves shall be freemen or slaves! Yes, disguise it as we may, slavery and liberty cannot coexist; one or the other must ultimately and utterly triumph! Our fathers of '76 knew full well this issue; and whilst they died hopeful of republicanism in all other respects, in this they went down into thier graves full of fearful anticipations and despair.—They knew that slavery and liberty could not live together—that one must die! Such were the avowals of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Henry, Adams, Sherman, and Franklin, and almost all those patriots who risked life, property and liberty that we might be free. So great were their aspirations for the extinction of slavery, that the word slave was not put into the constitution of '89: because as Madison tells us, in his report of the debates of the federal convention, when this institution shall have perished—they wished its memory to perish from the memory of men forever. But how have those avowals and aspirations, the only sacred and inviolable "compromises" of the constitution, been redeemed! The six slave States, then south of Mason's and Dixon's line, have increased to fifteen. The great republic has been changed from an angel of light and liberty, into a demon of slavery propogandism. J. Q. Adams has truly said "the preservation, extension, and perpetuation of slavery has become the ruling spirit of the National Government."

The slave-holders banded together by a common property and despotic power, have usurped entire control of the government. Parties are formed, Presidents made, and the spoils of office distributed to those only, who bow the supple hinges of the knee to the slave power.—There is no room for free, bold and manly spirits in this republic.—As much as I hate slavery because of its wrongs to the black, I hate it more, because it will not allow men to live on this continent! Because it will not allow law; because it will not allow constitutions; because it will not allow republicanism. Because it is the most hateful of despotisms to all—the slave, and the nominally free! One of the principal reasons, why our fathers arose in arms and threw off by a seven years war the tyranny of England, was, because whenever there was an office of honor or profit in the land, or naval or civil service to be filled, here came the nobles, or younger sons of the aristocratic minority of the monarchy, to the exclusion of such men as Washington, Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson!

What have we gained, if we must still be the slaves of a negro aristocracy! Who are your Presidents, your senators, your congressmen, your speakers of the House of representatives from the south? Who are found living upon the treasury in the land and sea service? Who

are your foreign ambassadors? Who live upon the public crib at home and abroad? Slave holders, or their servile dependents north and south! Every governor of this commonwealth from the beginning has been a slave holder! And now when I, one of the people, for the first time aspire to that office, the press denounce me, as little less than treasonable! Yes, your congressmen have been, and all now are slave holders! So are your judges, and other most eminent officers. In 1848 in virtue of the progression of free principles, you called a convention to reconstruct the foundations of your constitution. And here were seven hundred thousand freemen on our side, and one hundred thousand slave holders on the other; and by the concentration of power which slavery, like a free masonic sign, gives to those possessors of despotic power, they elected every one of their cast to that body. Yes, you had not a single representative in that convention. And when argument, and money, and terror, failed—the bowie-knife and pistol were used to suppress the aspirations of the free, and put down the defenders of the liberties of the people! And in convention they treated us as a conquered people, as we were! They attempted to limit the right of suffrage, and succeeded in part. They denied us the power of the ballot; and insulted us with the avowal, that, they intended to stand over us at the polls, and compel our suffrages by the terror of proscription! If we are entitled to vote at all—if it is a sacred and inviolable right of freemen—then we have a right to its full, free, and impartial use, without fear or favor. Yet, that slavery may live these inestimable rights, by corruption, bribery, and proscription, must perish! These are the equal rights and liberties which we were called upon to defend in 1846! Yes, then it was discovered that there were some other persons in the State besides the masters and slaves! Yes, then we were the people—the bone and sinew of the land! Well we were deluded into the ranks; we bore the brunt of hardship and fatigue; receiving eight dollars a month, the same that the aristocracy received per day in the shades of the National palace, and we fell in battle in the post of peril; we perished by thousands; we were thrown together as beasts into trenches with no stone to mark the place of our resting! But when an office of honor and profit was to be filled, in the commissary or quartermasters Department—when a major or a lieutenant colonel, or a colonel, or a major, or brigadier general were to be appointed—then, in every instance, so far as my knowledge goes, they were slave holders! And when they too fell, no more gloriously than we, their remains were brought home at the expense of the State! And the monument of marble which overlooks the capitol, inscribed with their names, draws in death as well as in life the undying distinction between the slave holding aristocracy, and the people of this commonwealth!

There is even carried to the statute book this distinction of casts—one measure of justice for the slave holder, and another for the non-slave holder. If the horse of the laborer known to be vicious, injures the person or property of the slave holder, he sues him, and causes him to make remuneration. But if the property—the slave of the slave holder,—admitted by the most solemn avowals of themselves to be a vicious animal, destroys the life or property of the laborer, he is not repaid a cent; but on the contrary, if the slave is executed for the offence, the widow

and orphans, if the head of the family is slain; are taxed, in addition to their present loss, yet more, to remunerate the slave holder, who has been obstinately the cause of their ruin ! So, also as in the State, is it in the national statute book. If the horse of the laborer escape into other States, he must return him at his own expense; but if the slave escape into other States, and it is necessary to guard him back, the great mass of the people have to be the guard and to pay the expense. The slave holders have a right to the "delivery" of their slaves; but I have ever, and ever will deny their right to make me a slave-catcher, or to tax me to restore their losses. The very thing that is done in this "fugitive slave bill" was refused to be allowed in the United States constitution by our fathers. Because said they, it would be taxing them; and making them responsible for slavery; which responsibility they would never consent to assume, but left it with the States, where it of right belongs. That law is not only unconstitutional, but it violates all the principles of justice and enlightened jurisprudence; and jeopardises the liberty of every freeman in the States. The day that the American people shall deliberately acquiesce in it, they will have fallen below, in the scale of liberty, every limited monarchy in christendom.

Have not the States already done enough, and more than enough for the "peculiar institution?" Is it not satisfied with its supremacy? Is it not sufficient that we have made three wars for its security, and taxed ourselves three hundred and fifty millions of dollars—and lost forty thousand lives in its defence, and extension, and perpetuation? Have not our ambassadors degraded us in the eyes of the free, all over the earth, by the avowals which we have repeatedly made, that we could not allow the existence of Republics on our southern border, "because it would endanger the institutions of the south?"

Have not the most solemn treaties with Spain and Mexico been violated by a slave-holding administration, by marching our troops into their territory, without a declaration of war—acts which even barbarious nations for the last two thousand centuries have scorned to do? Does not the United States constitution give the war power solely to Congress? How dare a slave-holding president to enact this gross usurpation? What caused Georgia to defy the national government, and oppress an Indian nation, under our most sacred protection? Where in the slave States is the freedom of speech and the press secure—those constitutional rights, and only safe-guards of liberty? Who are they who sell a free citizen of these States into slavery, because he dare venture, under the ægis of the national constitution, which declares; "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States,"—into the bounds of the "peculiar institution?" Who by "the common law of slavery" refuse redress for these atrocities in the courts of justice and add insult to injury by cowardly violence against grey headed age, and the loveliness and helplessness of womanhood? Who violate the sacredness of the national power, in the plundering of the United States mails? Who pursue every free spirit with more than Austrian vigilance and despotism, searching persons, and trunks, and breaking open private letters, and violating even unto death the persons of all, who dare deny that the declaration of Independence is a lie?

Who,—declaring that, territory which comes in slave, shall remain slave—but that which comes in free, shall remain free—reaping all the benefit of the first half of the proposition for three quarters of century; but so soon as it was possible for freedom to gain by it—then repudiated it—holding fast to what they already have—crying out, let us struggle for the remainder? Who impudently laid claim, on the ground of conquest, to a State which was conqueror, and forced their cowardly dependents in these States, under threats of the bayonet, to give them ten millions of our money, to induce them to take eighty thousand square miles of our territory? Who—driving us, by carrying arms in the United States senate, and threatening violence against the freedom of legislation, to abandon the ordinance of 1787, on the plea that the people of each State should determine for themselves the character of her institutions, when that State unanimously votes herself free,—declares that it shall not be admitted into the Union? Who refused the delegate of New Mexico a hearing, whilst her territory was being partitioned as Poland, in the congress of the United States, because she had the insolence to make a free constitution? Who declares in the United States senate—the temple of our liberty—that the declaration of Independence is a lie? What papers north and south, take up the cry and attempt by bribery, procription, and denunciation to intimidate us into the postulate, that we “are slaves?” What was the object of your great southern convention? What senator had in his pocket a constitution for a “slave republic” to be formed out of the fragments of this Union? For what is South Carolina in arms? Why does Alabama, and Georgia, and Mississippi back her “with rifle in hand?” What means your “secession,” and your southern “union” party? I say that the declarators of 1776 had no such list of insufferable grievances as this, against the British crown! In the State of Maine, in those mountain homes by the church and the school, lived in simple habits, undebauched by the *luxuries of cotton*, some of the Puritan blood, who have not succumbed to the Austrian doctrine “that the great object of government is the protection of property”—but who yet hold in sacred remembrance the dicta of ’76. And they agreed to meet together on that glorious day, and revive, if possible, in the hearts of the people, those noble principles—yet trusting in the salvation of the republic, and the establishment of the liberties of men. And they were kind enough to remember me,—who among the down trodden masses of the south was, in an obscure way, struggling for the same cause—and to invite me to be present and unite with them in that manly reunion. I wrote them “the Maine letter;” in which I alluded to the threats of the South to enslave us by violence—and remembering that I was born free, and that the blood of ’76 flowed in my veins—I mustered up courage enough to say that if I was set upon, I should resist force by force, and that I would say, once more, as of yore, “Liberty or death!”

Forthwith, instead of commendation, which was to be expected in Kentucky, a State professing to be free, I am denounced as an abolitionist—an insurrectionist—one who would “cut the throats of the whites, that the blacks might marry their wives and daughters.” I have everywhere debated this subject of slavery in this commonwealth, with such moderation and respect to others, as to merit commendation from the most bitter opponents. I now confidently trust to Kentucky

and the world, if evil arises in this struggle, to say upon whose skirts the blood shall rest! Yes, I stand by that letter in its spirit, and in its words; in its breadth, in its length, and in its depth—at all times—in all places—now, and forever.

Yet I do not intend that my position shall be misunderstood. It may be misrepresented, but it shall be known! I say then, that I propose no other action against slavery, than what is *constitutional* and honorable. But in this State, and in the nation, in Asia, in Africa, in Europe, in America, and in all the isles of the seas, whenever, and wherever I can strike it a blow, all my enemies may know, that I shall surely do it! I will meet argument, with argument: denunciation, with denunciation: and force, with force! Am I now understood? I thought, that this old lie of “blood and murder” had been buried here, with the honors of war, below the hope of resurrection! I treat with contempt, the infinite scoundrelism of its attempted revival!

Citizens of Fayette, I am the same man, who years ago was honored with your confidence. I ask once more your suffrages. You know that I have honestly struggled for the right—the prosperity, the happiness, the safety, the liberty of this my native commonwealth. I have discharged my duty. Set upon, whilst prostrate on a bed of sickness, (I speak not in reproach but as history.) and my press removed into a distant State—calumniated in my character—put under the social ban, and political proscription—wasted in my property—two years absent from home and family, in the Mexican war—nine months a prisoner—though bringing back none of the laurels of battle, yet ever subject to hunger, thirst, sickness, and death—I lifted up my voice in defence of the liberties of the people. Once more cut down, by a mob, escaping with life as it were by miracle, I trust by the Providence of God, amidst the dissuasion of friends, and threats of personal violence from enemies I again go forth through this whole commonwealth, and I tell them that their liberties are threatened, and that the issue is, *whether we ourselves shall be freemen or slaves!*

Berhaps after next August, you may never again be called upon to deliberate upon that awful issue. Treason is already avowed!—dissolution of these States is demanded!—the cannon are moulded!—whilst I am now speaking armed men are mustering in the field! Amidst arms, constitutions and laws are silent. What will you do? Are you ready for the slave empire of the south? Have you grown tired of these republican institutions, which in a half century have built you up from insignificant provinces to the first rank among the nations of the world? Do you seek more security for life, liberty and property, than the stars and stripes watered with the blood of patriots give you—by sea, and shore, resting under its ample folds?

Ah! are you in love with despotism? Will you go back to the cast off rags of past centuries—returning as a dog to his vomit? Will you fraternise with Russia? Behold her thousand exiles; whose crime is the aspiration to be free,—chilled by the frozen snows of Liberia, but colder yet at heart—out-lawed—suffering—dying—miserable in life—but yet more miserable in death, say they, in the reflection that their memory shall perish, and that there shall be no record of their lives—no stone to mark the place of their resting—their ashes unwatered with the tears of friendship, or kindred forever! Are you in love with that?

Will you go to Austria, and see a whole people of gallant spirits, reduced to slavery and national extinction—her defenders put to the sword, to torture, and to exile, and the wives and daughters of patriots driven nude, through populous cities, and scourged with rods, and dying with shame? Are you in love with that? Will you go to Turkey, and rest with Lamartine under the shade of a pyramid in the desert? And “upon looking up” said he “I found that it was made of the skulls of thirty thousand Servians, built up in sand and lime,” a monument of terror eternally to those who like them aspire to be free! Are you in love with that? Will you go to those Bastiles and Prison houses, which have been opened up in their secret depths by modern revolutions in Europe, to the gaze of men—in whose vaults of “ever during damp,” lie not only the bleaching bones of men, but the long and silken locks of women, and the skeletons of babes, who perish in one common ruin for conscience sake? Have you forgotten the terror and woe which have spread like Cimerian darkness over all the earth—the great spirits who in all ages have gone up to the scaffold and cannons mouth, that you might be free? And will you now begin talking about your slave empire in the south! “Congress has become an anti-slavery debating society!” And will you be able to crush liberty of speech and the press then? Will you not see that when the liberty of speech and the press is gone, all liberty is gone?

“When the fugitive slave law is repealed, then will the time have come for the State of Kentucky to go with the south for the dissolution of the Union!” Indeed! Will you have more slaves returned when the Union is dissolved? England returns no slaves now—will you venture to lay your hand upon her lion crest when she is backed by fifteen millions more of freemen, who change place in the array of arms? Will there be more security for your remaining slaves, when the line of freedom is moved down from the frozen lakes, to the Ohio river? Are you mad? Will you with five hundred thousand masters, on one side, and three millions of slaves, and five millions of white labourers, reduced to like servitude; on the other, appeal from the reason and consciences of men to the sword? Will you look abroad for help? From the frozen ocean of the north, to the stormy capes of the far south, there runs through two continents, a consolidated phalanx of nations, who have sworn that slave States are the outlaws of nations! From all the leading nations of Europe, comes a voice in the literature, in the political avowals, in the consciences, in the armies, and in the navies—we’ll have no more of slavery—“anathema sit!”

No, you cannot if you would succeed! From the earliest ages to the present times, the liberties of men, have been more and more established. Nations have become more and more free; and more and more have the civil rights of individual men been established by law—and more and more is recognized the fraternity and equality of man in the eyes of God!

If you are indeed wise, and of that saxon blood of which you boast, the best, you will follow the example of England from whom you draw your descent. When the millions of labourers cried out for cheap bread, instead of answering them with cannon shot, and the bayonet—she repealed the tariff upon provisions, and yielded the monopoly which her ruling aristocracy enjoyed! When the great principles of God-

given equality had taken hold of the hearts of eight millions of Irish men, instead of appealing to the sword, she passed the Irish Catholic-emancipation bill; by which Protestant and Catholic enjoy equal religious liberties! And to-day England stands perhaps, firmer in the affections of her subjects, than ever before in her history.

Is France the example you would follow? Then read in her, your own fate! There you saw Louis Philippe, one of the coolest, and wisest of men, with public and private means beyond any monarch of his times; and he too would appeal to the bayonet! And he arrayed around Paris three hundred thousand armed men; and the cannon, and the musket pointed upon every street, and upon every work-shop. But the French people remembered the tyrannies of the past, and they had felt the Divine inspirations of liberty, equality, and fraternity; and through the press, the telegraph, and the quick communication of ideas, the soldiers and the people sympathised—and from a million of souls came the anthem terrible only to tyrants:

“Arise—arise—ye brave,
The avenging sword unsheath,
March on—march on—all hearts resolved
On Liberty, or Death!”

And such was the power of truth and heroism, that without the firing of a gun, the king and his abettors were driven in dismay from their strong holds, into exile; and a republic was established upon the ruins of the monarchy! No! I tell you slavery must die! The tree of liberty has been planted; and whether watered with the dews of beneficence and progress, or the tears of blood and woe of a false conservatism, it shall overspread the earth, till all men shall be free!

Meet us then in the spirit of amity, and true conservatism which we offer you. Let Kentucky take her position at once where her destiny decrees, among the free States of the Union. Be not deluded by the folly and madness of Thos. Metcalf, and such anarchists; but listen to a higher intellect and a nobler patriot—John J. Crittenden; who, in his message to the legislature, said: “The dissolution of these States cannot be a remedy for any evil, because it is itself, the greatest of all evils.” There stand the emancipationists of Kentucky. Holding on to the constitution of 1789, they repudiate all attempts, under whatever pretence of “compromise,” to assume a new basis of union. Believing with Washington, that it is the palladium of liberty to us and our posterity, we stand by it, in good and evil report—for better or for worse; indissolubly united—against those, who would break it down to liberate the Africans—and against those, who would dissolve it, with the criminal view of perpetuating slavery among men! We are opposed to interference with the rights of the States; but believing in the supremacy of the national government, we give, there, our first allegiance. That government was created in its own language “to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity,” which can only be done by “establishing justice,” “Liberty and Union,” therefore, is the spirit which shall guide us ever in our national policy. A great continent opens to us its virgin bosom—the fate of millions wait upon us—the eyes of nations follow—the aspirations of mankind are for wisdom in our councils; the hand of Destiny is upon us—America—the world must and will be FREE.



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